* 539 /341 cont./

V. Miriápura Majsá.

Yepá Huáke left six persons, three women and three men, in Diawí. And they are called Mariápura Majsá. They are in charge of the spirits of Miriá (5).

[534] [784]

5. Of the Yuruparises. Ceremonial flutes used in the initiation ceremonies for the pubescent boys. It is forbidden for women to see these flutes.

VI. Ñebariuajtí.

In Ñamiriwí, Yepá Huáke left a male and a female who are named Ñebariauajtí. And these two beings have the same human form as Boraró and Boraró Numió. And they kill and steal people's souls in the same way as Boraró and Boraró Numió do.

VII. Sexual Relations (6).

6. Name that the interpreter insisted on giving to the myth.

Yepá Huáke left in Diawí two brothers with their papa and mama. And the four were called Bajsébo Majsá. And they left Diawí and went to Bajsebowí. Before Yúpuri Baúro (7)

[773] [614]

7. Yúpuri Baúro is the most important mythological culture hero in Tukano /Tucano/ culture. He is also the founder of the sib /Sp. sib/ of the highest category among the Tukano.

discovered these lands, the Tukano /Tucano/ did not have children. In Bajsebowí, when the father of the Bajsébo Majsá, who

/162 cont./

829 them a point which in particular must not be hurt, to wit, the pride of one's own tribe.

21) Gluttony.

261 They are also excessively gluttonous. They are always will-
262 ing to eat. They eat everything that the white eats and whatever
[177] is given to them, and almost always everything that they have at the moment (37).

37. They curiously watch the whites when they eat, and afterwards they devour everything that is left, always, however, sharing among themselves. Some from Iauaretê did not like chocolate and spit it out.

[164] Intestinal troubles are frequent. They will eat until they do not feel well and suffer indigestion and bowel pain. They eat immoderately when they have it and then spend the whole day with only chibé (water with /163/ starchy mandioca-flour) (38).

38. Otherwise they are used to fasting. Besides the forced fasts (because they do not have anything to eat or on trips), they observe numerous ritual fasts: in the puberty initiation, during the chôco (couvade), menstruation, etc.

* [192]
• [784]

The school children eat the foods that appeal to them until they
273 become sick. During the caxirís they do not eat, according to the customs, and thus they can consume a larger quantity of drink. They vomit on the one side, in the manner of the ancient Romans, and on the other they fill a new cup. The truth is that the caxirí
[164] is nourishing, being in reality a well diluted pap. Since at times it is drunk still in the process of fermentation, this continues in the stomach, from which come many cases of stomach hernias, due to excessive drinking. They are very greedy for aguardiente; it is pay for which they will make any sacrifice. They perceive

/193 cont./

*192 because of their purpose, which is to kill the fish (wehẽ means
227 to kill), and in the Lingua Geral, puçá. It is a mesh of knots
284 made out of fibers of caroatá (Bromélia pinguis, Lin.), caroá (Neoglazióvia variegáta Ar. Com.), or even tucum. The meshes are narrower or wider, according to the purpose.

[462] They are manufactured by the man. The pregnant woman
[784] cannot touch them, because the fishing would be fruitless. When they prepare their puçá, the men will remain silent, in order to have luck with the fishing.

They perform the work in two ways: either with successive knots, as the casting nets are prepared among the civilized; or using splinters of arumá /Ischnosiphon ovatus, Kcke./, tying them at intervals with caroatá knots, as if one were preparing /194/ a basket. Once this is ready, they take off the splinters and the caroatá knots present the desired net.

They manufacture them in two sizes: a larger one (jereré in Nheengatú), with the shape of a very wide funnel; it measures 1.5 meters or more in length and during the fishing is kept open by means of two poles tied at the ends, in such a way that, with the help of a third pole as a wedge, it almost forms a circle.

They also make smaller and funnel-shaped nets, ganapão /workman, porter/ type, fitted to a hoop equipped with a handle, such as are used to catch butterflies. It is with these that they catch the fish stupefied by the timbo.

It seems that all the men know how to weave their fishing nets, with the exception of the young men of the last generation.

4) Other woven products.

286 With the fibers of tucum or miritĩ they make those elegant
301 bands, yuxtá-seri, that they put on the legs (conf. VII -- 3, d
*[192] (1)).

With these same fibers or with twisted embira they prepare some of the dance ornaments that must support the beautiful plumage.

They use monkey hide in order to make braids, which they wear as dance ornaments.

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/footnote 54 cont./ river) because very common among the savages along it is a soft mass, black and with a very unpleasant smell, made from certain fruits called Yapurá (the name of the river is pronounced this way among the Indians) after they are spoiled, which is eaten with their bread or beijú, and with everything that they think suitable."

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[251]

They eat it with beijú or as seasoning for fish. When they make it in large quantities, they keep it in holes in the ground, like the mass of pupunha.

[784]

It is to be noted that the woman must not go to the toilet or even drink water, while she is preparing the japurá. Otherwise the mass would all spoil, they say.

g) /sic/ The cunurí, waxpõ, is also eaten roasted or boiled. After it is cooked, however, it must be left immersed in running water in order to lose the bitter flavor.

h) Drinks.

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The various drinks that the Indian makes are called, with a term taken from the Língua Geral, caxirí, in Tukano pêru. The term caxirí, or pêru baxsasé, also designates their feasts, which are always held with drinking bouts. Without the latter the former cannot be conceived.

The caxirí is similar to a beer or a fruit wine with regard to the taste (55);

55. "From the palm trees the Indians make a delicious wine," says Pe. Alonso de Rojas in his account of the voyage of 1637 (in "Descobrimentos do Rio das Amazonas," p. 118).

/235 cont./

226 278 *[192] parĩ with a mat, not plaited, but with tightly connected vertical splints, which they set up with strong stakes at the chosen spot. On the night preceding the fishing, the opening is closed, so that the fish that have come in to eat cannot go back to the river. It is the siege of the fish, or waĩ-sõ. The timbo is beaten well, hitting it against the rocks or crushing it with a stick. The juice, which has a strong odor, spreads through the water, killing the small fish and stupefying the large ones, which will soon float. In order for the poison to reach the bottom layers of water, they also throw mud with the plant juice. Very early in the morning, then, the canoes leave (or they will have already left even earlier, if the spot is far away) with the whole family, men, women carrying the children, youngsters, the gear (67).

• [784]

67. Not, however, the pregnant women, because in this case the fishing would not have good results. If the dog goes in the water, they believe that the timbo will lose its strength.

On that day no one will eat mingau or anything sweet (68);

68. "I ate sweets and was lucky in fishing," objected Padre Afonso, a Montfortian Missionary from Teresita. -- "But the senhor is not one of us," the convinced Indian answered him.

*[192] they must go with an empty stomach; otherwise the fishing will be unfruitful. They will all try to enter the water simultaneously, advancing from upstream downward, yelling in unison (and anyone who does it late will be reprimanded), pwá-pwá-pwá, in order to frighten the fish. This act is called waĩ nãrã; it is the frightening of the fish to make them go into the poisoned water.

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3) With arrow and net.

a) With arrow. On the bank of the rivers there are often trees whose fruits or seeds are sought by the fish, as the japurá is by the aracú. The Indian then stations himself in the shade of these trees, in his canoe, and waits for the fish to come up to get these fruits, which are floating; at this moment he hits them with an accurate arrow-shot and collects them in the canoe. It is an exercise that is very diverting and is called waſ bõẽ. Lacking fruits, they break open termite nests, full of larvae, which the fish are very fond of, and throw them into the water. When the fish jump to snap at these larvae, they are hit by the arrows.

b) With net. We saw the use of the funnel-shaped net puçá, wehẽ-kõ, and with the mouth always open, in order to collect the fish killed or stupefied by the poisons. They also use for the same purpose their sieves or baxti; it is the method that is called waſ wa'sá.

• [784]

It is to be noted that when the man prepares his puçá, he does it in secret, without smoking or eating, only with ipadú in his mouth, and abstains from talking or from going to the toilet, in order for the puçá to be efficient.

They also use it for direct fishing; it is the waſ ũũũ. Standing at the mouth of the igarapé, he waits for the fish, frightened by those who are making noise above, to seek the river, and with a swift movement he brings in the puçá, almost always carrying some fish.

Also in the dark of night, especially on the shores, they surprise the fish and catch them with their puçás; it is what is called waſ ɓõ.

Or also, with that larger type of puçá (VI -- 2, e (3)) called jereré in the Língua Geral, which is opened only at the moment of use, they dip it, and, when the fish is inside, they close the net, drawing it out very quickly. They are simple processes, but profitable, especially at the time of low water or during the piracemas.

/241 cont./

*192 226 d) Espinhel /line with many hooks/. Nowadays they acquire the metallic hooks from the civilized and, moreover, use them with very profitable and advantageous methods. One of these, for example, is the espinhel, a process called mõ-weherĺkanõ.

/242/ The espinhel consists of a very strong line 50 to 100 meters in length, tied at one end to the bank of the river and, at the other, to a stone that is thrown to the bottom of the river. A piece of molongó /Apocynaceae/, as a float, poogõ dõxká or pa'sa-ká (in Nheengatú mututí), tied to the middle of the cord, keeps it at a suitable depth and serves for locating the espinhel. On this long cord, at an interval of 3 or 5 meters, are joined small strings, each one with its hook provided with bait. They set the espinhel late in the afternoon, and early in the morning, with their canoe, they take it out, starting to pull from the part with the stone, in the middle of the river. As the fish taken is brought close to the canoe, they kill it with a blow on the head, because not infrequently large surubis and piraĺbas of 50 kilograms or even more are found. Frequently the fish are found already tired by the efforts made to free themselves, or even bitten and half-eaten by the piranhas.

• [784] The first fish of the espinhel will be given to some dog or released in the water, or they bury it; it is essential that it should not be eaten by any person.

The pregnant woman (VII - 4, f (2 d)) cannot eat any of the fish caught on the espinhel, because otherwise no more fish will be caught.

During the time of high water, when the rivers flood their banks, invading the forests (these are the igapós), many fish migrate from the rivers, in order to eat the wild fruits. The native then takes advantage of this fact to tie lines with hooks to the bushes or to the branches of the trees in such a way that they stay a span more or less under the water. Upon inspecting them at dawn, he finds almost all the hooks with their fish. It is the fishing called wai poxtá-poó. In the first days of the high water they can perform this operation two or three times a night, with positive results, in order to keep the alligator from eating the fish.

/334 cont./

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/footnote 35 cont./ explain the outbreak of malaria that in 1931-2 decimated the population of Taracuá-ponta, river Uaupés, as the consequence of having taken a stone from the cachoeira of the beijú, Ahũ-gã-pweá, actually located some hundreds of kilometers away, on the river Papurí.

asserting that, if someone were to try it, lightning would strike him. It is on some of these rocks that they go to finish the making of their canoe, or the preparation of their nets and fishing gear (36).

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36. There is one of these rocks near the povoado of Parí-cachoeira, river Tiquié.

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/335/ Near the "igarapé of the caterpillar," pixkõ-rõ-ỹa, headwaters of the Cuiú-cuiú, tributary of the Papurí, there is a rock that a woman should not see; if she looks at this rock, she will never have children. And when they go by this place, the women and maidens turn their faces to the other side. Fish from this and from some other igarapés cannot be eaten; if somebody were to do it, he would suffer from toothache.

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In Jabutí-cachoeira, on the river Tiquié, there is a rock called nõ'mya-ga (rock of the women, or rock woman?) with a groove that looks like a vulva to the natives. When the young men go by there, they throw a piece of beijú, a lemon, or some other fruit at it from their canoe. It is what they call doxkésã-i'ãsé, that is, they throw to hit the mark. Because, they explain, if the object thrown remains in the groove, they will soon have wives. This rock, for them, is very precious. They also think that, by rubbing the hand over it, later they will easily learn any trade.

[192]

/362 cont./

823 In Ira-igarapé there are some potholes in the water. When an individual dives into these potholes, if he is lazy, he will then hear claps of thunder and feel an electric shock (the resounding of the waters in the concavity? shocks from the electric eel?). If he is not lazy, nothing happens to him.

Three flat rocks arranged in a triangle are to be seen near
• [784] Jandiá (left bank of the river Papurí). The women /363/ must not look at these rocks, so that their children will not be born with a flat head.

825 One must not step in the track of the onça /jaguar/, because, without being seen, he will come after the one who did it.

823 There is a high rock on the left bank of the river Papurí, near the mouth of the stream Cuiú-cuiú, called Bará õxtã. If a young woman goes up onto that rock, and some young man, passing there, looks at the young woman, he will feel attracted and
*[192] will end up joining her. This attraction, however, disappears if the young man immediately puts in his eyes drops of the infusion of the cipo called yõx'kwá-dá (star cipo).

[103] Below the "island of the cuiubí," in the cachoeira of the Bacaba (river Uaupés), in the place called Ï'á-fõã (point of the louse), there is a rock called muhi-pũ õxtã (rock of the sun or of
[782] the moon). Those who navigate the river, when they pass there, deposit dried fish, beijú, banana, or other fruit. According to the Wanana Tomás Paiva, the offerer, upon leaving his offering, presents the following supplication: "My grandfather, make it so that the day will be good, will not be hot, will not have banzeiro (agitation of the waters by the winds).

754 There are various processes of casting malefices (dohasé) in the road or in the clearing:

*[192] 1st. -- They bend some stick by the road where the disliked individual must pass, and they "blow" on the stick; it is the yuxkõ dohó-kõ; the malefice will reach the person merely passing there.

/365 cont./

825 When the women see a blind snake or a headless snake, ðxsó, they turn their faces to the side, so that it will not come at night to fecundate them.

752 784 When someone is bitten by a snake, his relatives must abstain from salt, pepper, and fish.

192 856 When a child is slow in learning to talk, they give the smoked meat of the toad nãxterõ to it to eat, affirming that thus he will soon begin to talk (76).

76. Patrícia Vasconcelos, Tukano from S. Luzia, river Papurí, states that this happened with her. And soon after having eaten the meat of such a toad, she started to talk.

192 304 224 226 They make some cuts on the children's bodies, when they are still young, with fish teeth, especially from the piraíba, so that they will become mõ'sĩgõ̃ (in Nheengatú marupiára), that is, lucky in fishing and hunting.

192 Uruká-tutu is the onomatopoeic name, in the Língua Geral and in Tukano, of a nocturnal bird, whose chirping must not be imitated, because it will come to avenge itself against the one who did this, throwing stones at him. They affirm that this bird is the disembodied spirit of some white or civilized, pexká-sã wɛ̃'rĩ wãx-tĩ.

752 /366/ They burn the house of the termite and put the ashes on wounds, so that they will not leave a scar. They explain that just as the termites repair their nest perfectly when it is broken open, the ashes of their nest will produce the same result in the human wounds.

If a dog goes in the water in which timbo has been spread for fishing, the poison will no longer have any strength.

843 The ladies in a state of pregnancy must not eat the pirarucú and pirandira fish, or the pirara; because "this eats dead people" is the explanation that they provided.

T /368 cont./
755 They grant a particular strength to the "blowing," capable of effecting cures (81).

81. In September of 1947, during a fight among the Makú on the occasion of a feast in the vicinity of Iauareté, an Indian received five large and deep machete blows (on the two shoulders, forehead, hand, and right buttock). A month later they were almost healed, and they explained to us that the only curing procedure was the following: before taking his mingau, every man blew over the food which the patient would eat.

T
843 In order to have children of the male sex, the woman must not take a bath during the last pregnancy.

The pregnant woman, when she works, tries not to make much noise (for example, she avoids the noise of the cuia /shell of Crescentia cujete/ in the pot when she goes to fetch water).
T Otherwise, her child will be a whiner.
501 While the man is burning out his canoe, he must not eat,
• 784 drink, or go to the toilet, so that his craft will not crack.
T When the parí is being prepared, one must not eat meat.
262 The Makú must fast on the day on which they prepare the
M "curare"; otherwise, the poison will not have any strength.
278 The dead are transformed into wãx-tĩ (cf. below, Funeral
T Feast). These disembodied spirits, when they are that of a pajé,
756 of individuals of a hostile tribe, or of the civilized, are very
775 dangerous. For this reason they do not sleep near the place where
829 some civilized person was buried.

g) The cult of the dead.

T As a consequence of the two beliefs so firmly rooted, that of
621 the union of the individuals of each group, who consider and call one another "brother," and that of the existence and immortality

/417 cont./

593 his hammock; nevertheless, they will not talk to each other through the night inside. At night only conversations of man with man and woman with woman are permitted. If the husband has arrived from his fishing or hunting already late at night, he will hang up the fish or the game in the space between two poles or on the wall, or in some other place, without saying a word to his wife, to whom he will not make delivery of the fruit of his labor until morning.

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[784]

6) Polygamy and Polyandry.

178 595 Whether we understand these terms as the possibility for an individual to have several wives simultaneously or successively, and, vice versa, a woman more than one husband, they are not in force nowadays among the tribes of the Uaupés.

[622] In conversation, several among them affirmed that in the old days a man could have two or three wives, particularly the tuxaua (21),

21. In 1849 Wallace attested (o. c. 636): -- "The men as a rule, have only one wife. There is not, however, for this reason a special limit, because many of them have two or three. Some chiefs even have still more." It is what still happens in some tribes, for example, the Karútana of the Içana, the Káwa of the Aiarí, affirms the author of Pelo Rio Mar /Along the Rio Mar [Sea River]/, (p. 19). The statement of the Cônego /Canon/ André Fernandes de Souza is in agreement, when he says (o. c. 486): -- "They are given to polygamy or plurality of wives, and there are chiefs among them with two or three wives, and sometimes sisters of one another."

/423 cont./

534 At the great feast of wãx-tĩ, the most solemn part is forbidden
562 to her. She can not witness it, she can not see the mysterious
778 instrument, under the penalty of death.

She must not know the great tidings about the origins of the
• 784 tribe. We have the impression that the most perspicacious of the
796 women might know almost all that the most accomplished men know about the legends, but with the conviction, painful for them, of not knowing a great deal and the principal part. As a matter
[123] of fact, we have heard the same legends told by /424/ men and women (31).

> 31. No woman could tell us the origin of the instrument Mĩrĩ. In order not to wound the susceptibilities of the natives, we did not let them read this legend, which the men had told us in confidence, or see the instrument tabooed for them.

The totality of the men know nothing more than the women. They have only one advantage: having seen the mysterious, sacred instrument, the Mĩrĩ, and having made it sound. For their part, perhaps all the women imagine that the instrument that the men sound is really Wãx-tĩ.

562 More than anything, however, the moral decadence, this
831 indeed, is maximal in the native woman of the Uaupesina tribes. Carrying the defects of a moral perversion perhaps millennial, she feels the sexual impulses commandingly. The customs facilitate their satisfaction and, therefore, also their aggravation. But, for this same reason, they put them at the mercy of the males, whom they must always heed.

[835] Daughter, and later mother, the customs go so far as to impose on her incest with a religious character. In the exercise of these relations, of course, degrading practices will not be lacking.

562 /444 cont./
881 this /445/ occasion there are games and entertainments among the
527 young individuals of the maloca (84).
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84. One of the informants spoke to us about the "game of the lemon" for this circumstance. We heard about a Makú girl, Teresa by name, who on this occasion ran away with the youth, with whom she spent a few days. It seems that this is a matter of a conventional flight, because in reality they withdrew to a hut about 20 or 30 meters from the maloca.

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881 Abstention from work for some days is verified; for example,
• 784 she will not light the fire, "in order not to be burned." Then the young woman resumes her normal life; she will work in the clearing and in the house with her mother. For another month, according to information by Dorotéia Brito, she may not taste salt or eat either piraíba or the flesh of large animals, "in order not to ruin the teeth" (85).
[115]

85. Concerning a young Barâ, sister-in-law of a Karapanã, in whose maloca, on the headwaters of the Áua, she submitted to the puberty rite, we were able to observe that she did in fact subject herself to a severe alimental diet, not accepting our salted foods, nourishing herself with beijú, tapioca, and fruits. We saw her, however, approach the fire, stir it up, and put some green bananas on to roast for herself.

881 During the following menstruation the rite of the seclusion of
562 the young woman is renewed. This second stage of the puberty
*[192] initiation is called Mahã-mĩ-nõsé. It is identical to the first one,

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that are specifically identified as the *Bekûpwänwa*, and that are used in the whipping and initiation ceremonies as well as in ritual bathing.

1. *Emihehika* (also known as *haraibipobû*: whipping staff) is a wide-mouth trumpet of bark wound within a framework of splints. It has a short palm-tube mouthpiece set into a ceramic plate that is mounted firmly to the upper end of the bark. This trumpet is some 30 inches long.

2. *Kwûhünku* (also known as *Uménahonkû*) is also a wide-mouth bark trumpet that is over five feet long and is played with one end resting on the ground.

3. *Bwû* (Agouti) is a long flute of a black palm, also with a mouthpiece set in a clay mount and with two external reeds bound around an opening toward the top. It is about four feet long.

4. *Onpwénda* is a flute similar to *Bwû* except that it has no separate mouthpiece and is only some 30 inches long.

5. *Onpwénda kûdjüwe* is identical with *Onpwénda* and is the length of a man's forearm. It is the shortest of the flutes.

Bwû and *Onpwénda kûdjüwe* are said to be the strongest and fiercest of the ancestors and are esteemed for the vigor with which they whip. They are referred to as *parihihekû* (very powerful beings). *Bwû* is, of course, the founding ancestor of the *Bahúkiwa*.

Among the *Hehénewa* of the Cuduiarí the largest bark-wound trumpet is also called *Uménahonkû*. Koch-Grünberg translated this name correctly as "Dragonfly." The name, however, is that of a first ancestor of the *Hehénewa*.

The whipping rites, the Cubeo say, go back to the "first people," who were taught what to do by *Kúwai*. At the beginning, however, it was women who played the flutes and trumpets. They spent so much time on play that they did nothing else. *Kúwai* corrected this. He took the instruments from the women and gave them to the men, warning them never to allow the women to get them back.[3] This is the story that is cited to explain why the instruments are taboo to

[3] A variant account states that the *Bekûpwänwa* had belonged to the women and that the men were afraid of them. The women came out of the forest bearing the instruments and the men ran away in fear. Then *Dekókû* (Ghost person) learned about this and said, "Women have no right to this." He came down to witness the ceremony of the women. He saw only women and he said to them, "You are women, you have no right to this. Now I am going to take this away from you." He brought the instruments to the men and laid them on their forearms. When the women had the *Bekûpwänwa* they danced all the time and never worked. After the men had received the instruments they allowed one old woman to see them. She turned insane and they had to kill her. Since then women have not been allowed to see the *Bekûpwänwa*.

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women. The men cautioned me not to speak of the *Bekũpwãnwa* to the women for fear they would be driven mad. A woman who hears about the Ancients will wander about singing their songs until she dies of her madness. If a woman actually sees the instruments, it is felt that she should be put to death by sorcery so that the secret will be kept from the other women.

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The *Bekũpwãnwa* come annually in the summer when a species of palm berry (*konhá*) and certain other fruits and berries are ripe. Of their coming it is said, "They come to whip the boys to make them grow." At the same time, it is explained that if the people did not dance with the flutes and trumpets the berries and fruits would not grow. The *Bahũkiwa* would not assert a magical connection, however, between the two kinds of growth, yet the association would seem to be an obvious one.

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As an age grade, youths are known as *hwainyó*, but as boys who need whipping for growth they are known as *bahũdjo*, which may be rendered as "bodying." A boy's first whipping occurs when he is no more than eight years old and continues until he leaves the play pack at about 15. Thereafter, as a man he continues to be whipped but under different auspices. As a man he accepts whipping voluntarily. As a boy it is imposed upon him by his elders.

I observed two initiation ceremonies, one among the *Bahũkiwa* and one among its subsib, the *Bahũkũdjawũ*.

The *Bahũkiwa* rites were conducted entirely by the younger men of the sib, not by the real elders as I had been led to believe. These younger men were in their prime of physical vigor. One was not yet married but he was very strong, energetic, and exceptionally capable in all respects. They were the men whom the play pack admired and emulated, to whom they attached themselves, and to whom they owed no special respect. The initiators were the fathers and the fathers' brothers with whom the boys could most readily feel at ease.

I was not invited to accompany the small band as they left the maloca in the early morning, the men in high spirits, the boys subdued, although they had been told only that they were going to pick berries. This was sheer euphemism since there are no secrets from the play pack. The gaiety of the initiators is characteristic. Only the women are expected to be afraid and one suspects that much of this is mock fright. Among the initiates was a boy of an in-law sib. But as a resident, a member of the play pack whose mother, the headman's sister, had standing as a household head of the sib, his initia-

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769 ever, does not compel them to make the sib child grow. The Cubeo think it absurd to suggest that the *Bekûpwãnwa* might need any urging to do for the sib what needs to be done and what they are capable of doing. It is impossible for a Cubeo to say that the *Bekûpwãnwa* have withheld a benefit or that they can be made to do more under
771 some circumstances and less under others. What is required – and the
769 Cubeo do not say that the *Bekûpwãnwa* have set requirements – is
787 that a proper mode of social intercourse be established and maintained. The spirit and the manner of social intercourse must be correct, however, although not letter perfect. The spirit in which the social intercourse is carried out is more important than the ritual act. Many Cubeo ceremonies are abridged because, as they explain, the mood was wrong. Guests who should have come did not, and in the feeling of disappointment the ceremony is cut short. An error in a chant, in a dance, in a song, or in a ritual sequence is of no importance. Failure to conform to the rules of social intercourse with the
771
769 supernatural beings, such as the Ancients, may have serious conse-
● 784 quences only if the neglect is deliberate. In any case, *Bekûpwãnwa* do not punish. They only withhold. In the case of the boy who ran away from his whipping at the hands of the *Bekûpwãnwa*, my informants assured me that he would not be deprived of a year's growth. Since they, the elders, were prepared to forgive the youngster his uncontrollable timorousness on this occasion, the Ancients, they knew, would do likewise.

771 The Ancients are not referred to as "spirits." The term for spirit
769 is *dekóki* and has, for the Cubeo, a more alien connotation than the
[776] term *Bekûpwãnwa*. The Ancients or the ancestors are referred to by name so that association with them conveys directness and immediacy. I believe that it is for the sake of maintaining a sense of immediacy and of directness with the *Bekûpwãnwa* that the Cubeo do
[778] not place them in some ancestral abode in some other world. The Ancients, to be sure, are known to have been buried in the ancestral rocks from which they emerged, at the rapids of Uaracapuri and Yurupari. But the burial place is not their place of abode. Strictly speaking they have no place of abode. The flutes and trumpets that embody them reside in a *caño* near the main stream of the sib. The
[775] Cubeo do not, however, claim that these sacred crypts are the residences of the Ancients. The ordinary dead, on the other hand, do have an abode. The point of distinction for the Cubeo is that the ordinary dead have been sent away and are no longer welcome, whereas the Ancients, who are not spirits of the dead in the ordinary sense, are always welcome.